

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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CINCLANT

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 0848

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNDC

SUBJ: SECOND DRAFT OF POLITICAL VIEWS OF NUCLEAR ASPECTS OF NUNN
AMENDMENT

REF: A. USNATO 781 B. USNATO 741

MISSION PROVIDES BELOW TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT OF PROPOSED UNCLAS-
SIFIED LETTER FROM SYG LUNS TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER ON NUCLEAR
ASPECTS OF NUNN AMENDMENT CIRCULATED BY ASYG HUMPHREYS.
THIS REVISED DRAFT, ACCORDING TO HUMPHREYS, TAKES ACCOUNT
OF COMMENTS THAT DELEGATIONS OF FRG, CANADA, UK, AND "ONE OR TWO
OTHERS" HAVE SUBMITTTED SINCE RECEIVING PREVIOUS DRAFT (REF A).
HE IS THINKING OF CONVENING SOME MANNER OF MEETING OF DELEGATION
REPRESENTATIVES ON MONDAY. MISSION WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE
GUIDANCE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS BRUSSELS TIME ON MONDAY, FEB
17. BEGIN TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT.

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IN YOUR LETTER OF 5TH NOVEMBER, YOU ASKED ME TO SET IN
HAND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTS OF THE ALLIANCE OF CERTAIN
CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYMENT POSTURE
PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REEVALUATION

CALLED FOR BY THE 1975 MILITARY PROCUREMENT AUTHORISATION ACT ("THE NUNN AMENDMENT"). YOU ASKED FOR OUR POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY VIEWS.

INITIAL ASSESSMENTS HAVE NOW BEEN MADE OF THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS, AND THESE HAVE BEEN REVIEWED IN THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP, WHICH IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIVE FORUM FOR THIS PURPOSE. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN SACEUR'S REPORT ON THE SUBJECT, AND ALSO THE AGREED VIEWS OF THE MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES. THESE, IN TURN, HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. THE MILITARY DOCUMENTS ARE, OF COURSE, CLASSIFIED. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO REFLECT THE CONSENSUS OF VIEWS IN THE ALLIANCE WITHOUT BREAKING THE BOUNDS OF SECURITY AS FOLLOWS:-

1. THE ALLIES ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE ROLE WHICH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATO STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE CURRENT REEVALUATION OF THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR WEAPONS POSTURE IN EUROPE IS NOT AIMED AT A REDUCTION IN NUMBERS OF WARHEADS OR WEAPONS SYSTEMS FOR ECONOMIC

OR OTHER REASONS, NOR DOES IT IMPLY A REDUCTION IN THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES IN THE NATO TRIAD. THEY ENTIRELY SHARE THE DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, TO IMPROVE THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF UNITED STATES' NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND TO INCREASE THEIR SURVIVABILITY. THEY ARE READY TO EXAMINE ON

THEIR MERITS ANY CHANGES WHICH THE UNITED STATES' GOVERNMENT PROPOSES.

2. THE ALLIES AGREE THAT IN THE INTERESTS OF MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIAL

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AN EFFECTIVE DETERRENT, MODERNISATION OF THE PRESENT STOCKPILE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS DESIRABLE. THEY AGREE THAT THERE MAY BE A PRIMA FACIE CASE FOR BELIEVING THAT ON OPERATIONAL GROUNDS, THE INTRODUCTION OF MORE EFFECTIVE WEAPONS MIGHT JUSTIFY A REDUCTION IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF UNITED STATES WARHEADS AND WEAPON SYSTEMS AT PRESENT DEPLOYED IN EUROPE. THEY CONSIDER, NEVERTHELESS, THAT ANY CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE PRESENT STOCKPILE SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY AFTER THE MOST CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL EFFECTS, AND IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE ALLIED NATIONS.

3. THEY WOULD DRAW ATTENTION, IN PARTICULAR, TO CERTAIN POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF A POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE WHICH MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY MODIFICATION TO THE STOCKPILE INVOLVING SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN NUMBERS OF WARHEADS OR WEAPONS SYSTEMS, E.G., THE DANGER THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS A WEAKENING OF THE TACTICAL NUCLEAR LEG OF THE NATO TRIAD, AS A LESSENING OF THE UNITED STATES COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENCE, OR AN APPARENT REDUCTION IN EXTENT TO WHICH EUROPEAN NATIONS THEMSELVES ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROVISION OF A TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY IN SUPPORT OF ACE. THESE ARE MATTERS OF PERCEPTION; NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE CRITICAL TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND TO MAINTENANCE OF THE DETERRENT. THE NEED TO PRESERVE BOTH IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE.

4. ANY PROPOSED ADJUSTMENTS CANNOT BE CONSIDERED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THEIR POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS ON THE COURSE OF THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS NEGOTIATIONS NOW PROCEEDING IN VIENNA. WHILE THE OTHER SIDE HAS CONSISTENTLY SOUGHT TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIED POSITION IS THAT THEY SHOULD BE EXCLUDED. ANY CHANGES IN THE NUCLEAR STOCKPILE MUST NOT PREJUDICE THE OFTEN STATED PRINCIPLE THAT NATO FORCES IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE REDUCTION AREA SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST, AND THEY SHOULD CONFORM WITH THE ALLIED OBJECTIVES OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES.

5. THE ALLIES ARE CONFIDENT, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THESE SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS CAN BE SATISFACTORILY RECONCILED IN THE TERMS OF THE NUNN AMENDMENT, BY "THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RATIONAL AND CO-ORDINATED NUCLEAR POSTURE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAT IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH PROPER EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE FORCES." IT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP TO PROVIDE THE FORUM FOR KEEPING UNDER REVIEW THE ROLE WHICH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLAY IN NATO STRATEGY. THEY WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY OF STUDYING IN THIS FORUM THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE INCREASED EFFECTIVENESS OFFERED BY MODERN WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. THEY ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THEM ON AN ISSUE WHICH SO CLOSELY CONCERNS THE SECURITY OF ALL.

6. THE ALLIES, THEREFORE, HOPE THAT THE STUDIES COMMISSIONED BY THE NUNN AMENDMENT WILL BE CARRIED FORWARD IN THE LIGHT OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED ABOVE, AND IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE ALLIANCE. FOR THEIR PART THEY PLEDGE THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE STUDY.

7. THE ABOVE REPRESENTS THE VIEWS OF THOSE NATIONS
CURRENTLY PARTICIPATING IN NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP ACTIVITIES.
THIS FORUM WILL CONTINUE TO BE USED FOR ALLIED CONSULTATION ON
THE FURTHER PHASES OF THIS STUDY. I AM TAKING STEPS, HOWEVER,
TO ENSURE THAT THE VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIED NATIONS WHICH TAKE PART
IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY PLANNING PROCESSES OF NATO, BUT ARE
NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP AFFAIRS, ARE
ALSO TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.
END OF REVISED TEXT.BRUCE

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